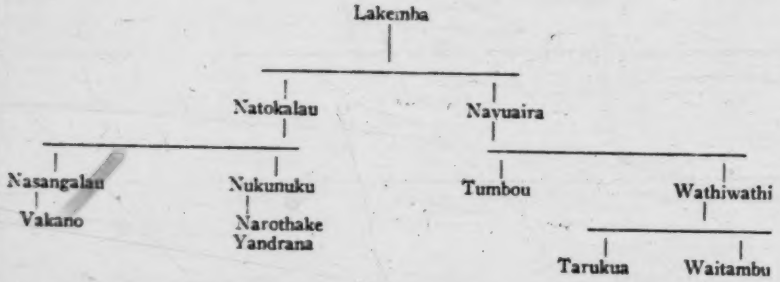
1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920), 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 285 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams wrapped in old, coarse matting.

352 513 In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats. The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

352 353 Near the couches members of the household place their European wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror, and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

842 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanggganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seangganga.

621 614 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green.

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's.

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home.

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked.

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in

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Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?"

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

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The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given:

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a wangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

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The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A, B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent.

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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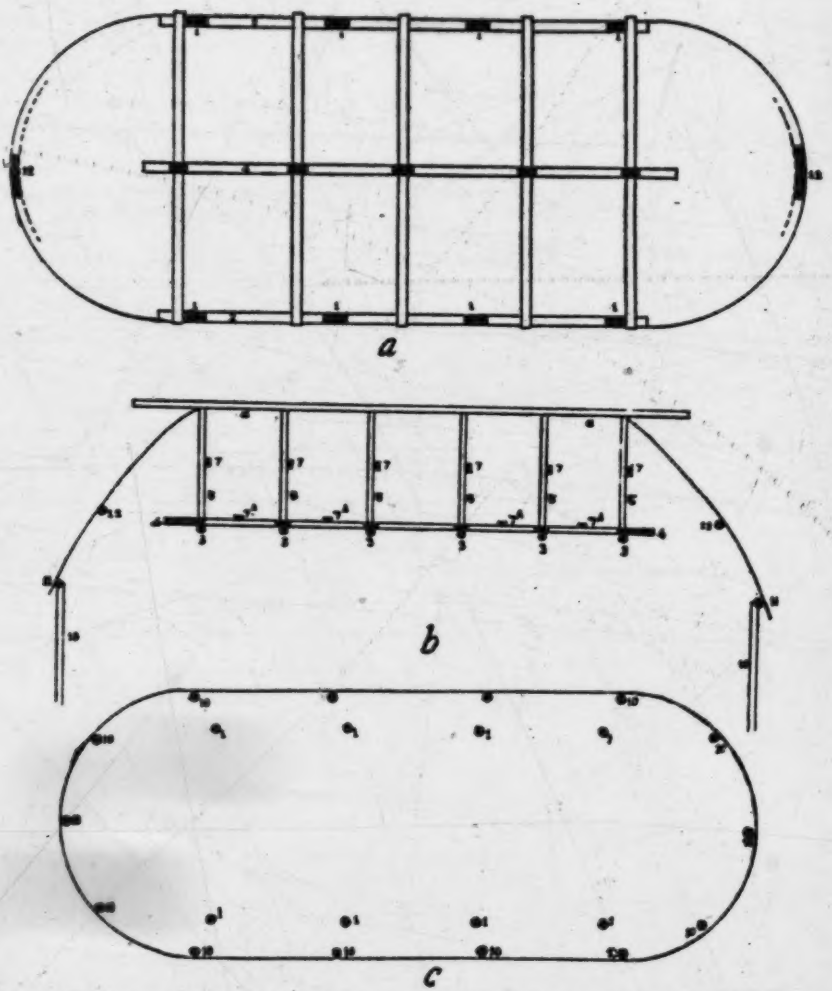

FIGURE 4.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, horizontal section showing tie beams; *b*, longitudinal section; *c*, ground plan, 1, main posts (*nduru*); 2, lower purlin (*kathu mbalavu*); 3, tie beam (*ithoka*); 4, base of king posts (*yavu ni mbou*); 5, king post (*mbou*); 6, ridge beam (*indoka*); 7, collar beam (*ilengge*); 7a, struts; 10, side post (*nduru*); 11, circular wall plate (*ilolo*); 12, apse beam (*feleanga*).

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neath. (See Pl. III, *B*.) The thatch consists of dried leaves of screwpine made supple by drawing backwards and forwards round a stick planted upright in the ground. They are pinned together with the stems of a fern called *vativati*. When thatching, some men stand on the ladder which rests

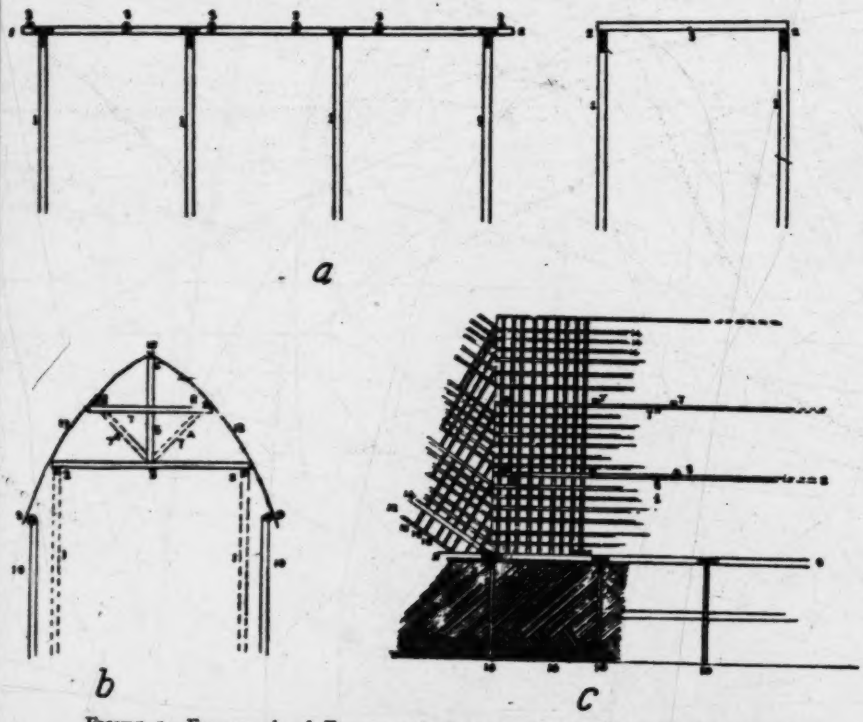

FIGURE 5.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, posts, tie beams, lower purlin (sectional view); *b*, cross section of the outmost tie beam; *c*, walls and roof (interior), 1, main posts; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 5, king post; 6, ridge beam; 7, collar beam; 7a, struts; 8, upper purlin; 9, wall plate (*inggasinggasi ni kolavo*); 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 12, apse beam; 13, rafter (*isu*); 14, reepers (*iapai*); 15, upper ridge (*indokarua*); 16, wall, *lotoa* style.

against the rafters inside the house, while men below spit the rows of thatch leaves on long sticks and pass them up. These sticks are called *thimba* (the same word means "dying," whether by coincidence or origin, I do not know).

The ridge of small houses is covered with plaited coconut leaves; pinned down with sharp sticks called *isanggai*, this covering is called *teviti*. Coco-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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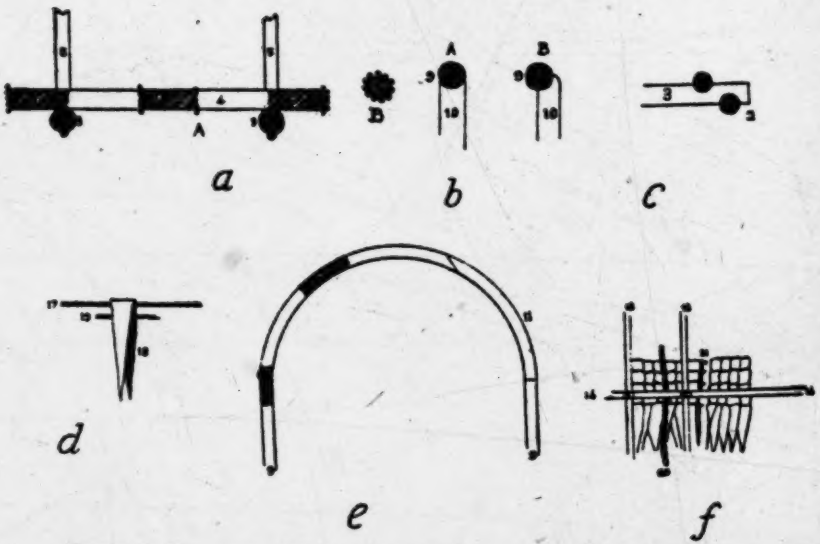

FIGURE 6.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, base of king post; *b*, connection of wall plate and side posts; *c*, extremity of a tie beam; *d*, thatch leaf; *e*, apse wall plate showing level and coir string; *f*, thatch rafters and reepers; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 4, base of king posts; 5, king post; 9, wall plate; 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 13, rafters; 14, reepers; 17, thatch carrier (*yava*); 18, thatch leaf (*rau*); 19, leaf pin (*vativati*); 20, thatch cord (*wale*); 21, thatch joint (*nduta*).

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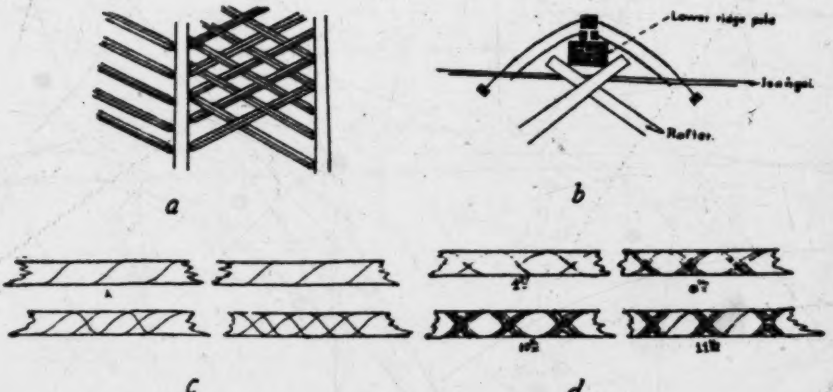

FIGURE 7.—Plaiting and lashing: *a*, *teviti* style of plaiting; *b*, diagram of *teviti*; *c*, stages in design; *d*, first stages of *matani ndavui*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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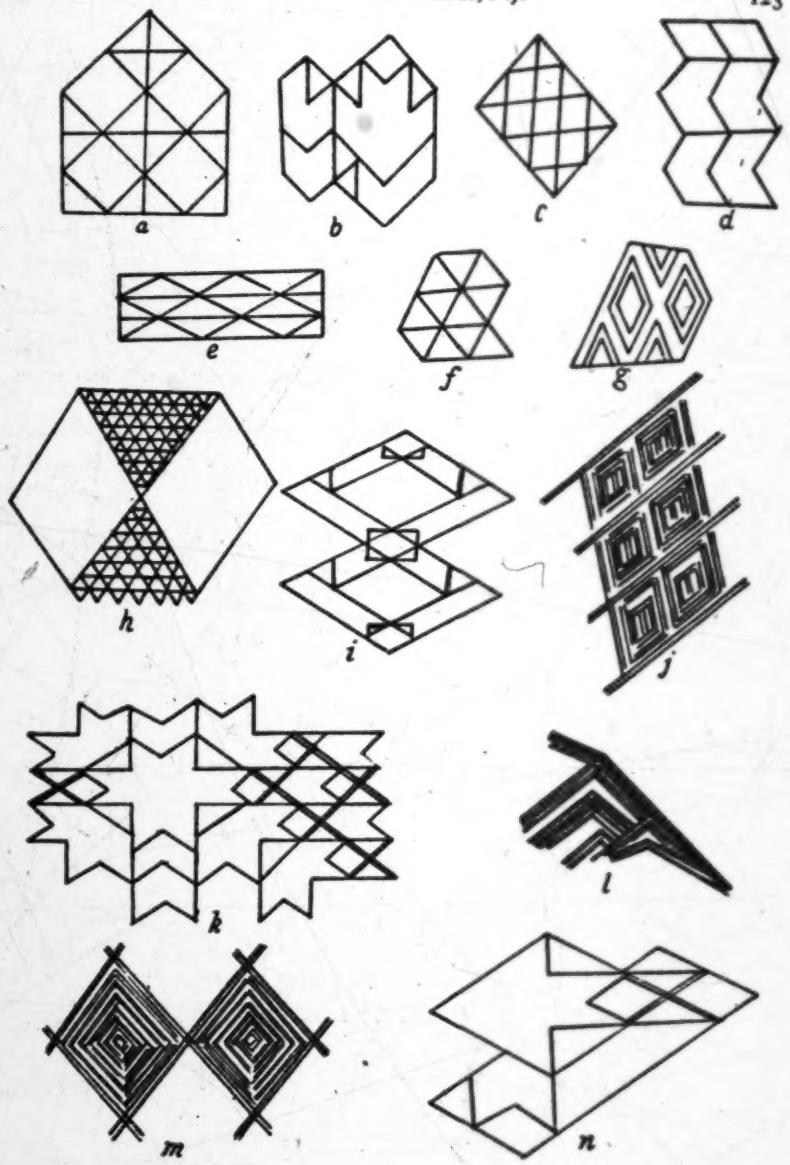

FIGURE 8.—Lashing designs: *a*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *b*, on main post; *c*, *fatuingalau*; *d*, *veikuku*; *e*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *f*, *manuluva* (extremity of the base of king post); *g*, *matanindavui*; *h*, *fufuikiu*, diagram from main post; *i*, from extremity of base of king post; *j*, *fatuingalau*, diagram of strands; *k*, from a wall plate; *l*, from a side post; *m*, from a main post; *n*, analysis of *k*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 nut leaves however, rot quickly, so the ridge of big houses is packed with small leaves, stamped and pinned down, kept in position by winding in zig-zag fashion round the pins from end to end a certain creeper. In this style the creeper is the *teviti*.

The walls are made of reeds in a style called *lotoa*, a Tongan word *loto*, interior, and *a*, fence). In the islands where there are no reeds, thin walls are made of plaited coconut leaves, described as "plaited walls."

In determining the length of a house only the central part is measured, leaving out the rounded ends. The length is reckoned in fathoms.[18] A five fathom house will have about four main posts and six tie beams. Of old, some houses were ten to twenty fathoms long. Joshua's house was 38 feet long; an average house about 21 feet.

COIR ROPE

283 Coir, called *mangimangi*, is made of the fiber from a special kind of coconut. The husk is beaten out so as to separate the fibers which are then cleared of all adhering particles. The fibers are generally baked which gives them a deep reddish color; but raw coir is used in designs to introduce a light brown color.

Plaited coir is prepared in the following manner:

> Several fibers are rolled together on the knee, or else kept together by winding a fiber round them. A number of these bundles are plaited in three strands. In the Fijian method the strands are stood up; but in the Tongan method they are turned down after each plait. The bundles or tufts are not inserted at definite distances from the end of the cord, but inserted according to the worker's judgment to secure uniform thickness, not an easy matter. Old and industrious men often plait at little meetings and in the family circle.
>
> Some coir rope is dyed black for working into designs. This is done by beating a banana stump, squeezing out the juice, boiling the coir in it and covering it with leaves of *tunga;* then stamping it in a kind of black mud called *somo*. The coir so prepared is called *somo*.
>
> The plaited coir is made into balls all of one color, according to the Ono style, which is followed in Mothe; according to the Thithia fashion it is made into rolls in which the black and the red form alternate zigzags all round; the same style is followed in Oneata and Naiau. Ono and Thithia are the great places for coir in Lau; Mothe also to a certain extent.

284 The Lauans boast that coir rope is far superior to nails, for it never rots whereas nails rust. All beams are bound together by winding coir string round their joint, and for purposes of ornament black and brown are used, sometimes also yellow, that is raw, coir. This technique is called *i lauulauu*, and is said to originate from Tonga, and indeed most of the

[18] The Fijian fathom is a variable measure according to the size of the man. The last two measurements are actual measurements taken by me.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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names of patterns are Tongan;[10] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says, "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eye-wash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts; for the tie beams *talataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who c[illegible] to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the e[illegible] another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The feast of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 342 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

[10] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kairi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

514 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 543 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

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A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN. TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1929) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

[End Plate 2]

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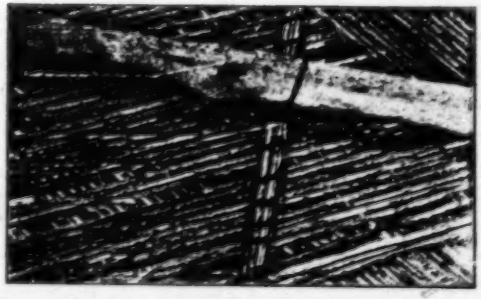
A



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LAUAN HOUSES AND BOATS. *A*, TONGAN STYLE HOUSE; *B*, SECTION OF WALL OF HOUSE, LOTOA STYLE; *C*, KIAN SAILING CANOE; *D*, MOALAN PADDLING CANOE.

[End Plate 3]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

MEN'S CRAFTS

HOUSE BUILDING

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished.

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food.

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering.

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

While I was on Kambara four houses were under construction: two in Tokalau, one in Nggalinggali, and one in Undu. One house in Tokalau and the house in Undu had been started before I arrived and were completed before I left. When I visited Namuka and Mothe no houses were under construction. On Ongea one house and on Fulanga one house in Muanaithake and one in Naivindamu were being built.

Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart,

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342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu.

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122).

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs.

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller.

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil.

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342 313 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To [431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 283 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental [555] lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava [272] should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

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chief of crops. When the feast is ready the carpenter is notified and work is suspended. The workers eat the feast at the house site immediately, and, if the feast is a large one, each man takes the remainder of his share home to his family in the evening. After the feast, the work continues until dark.

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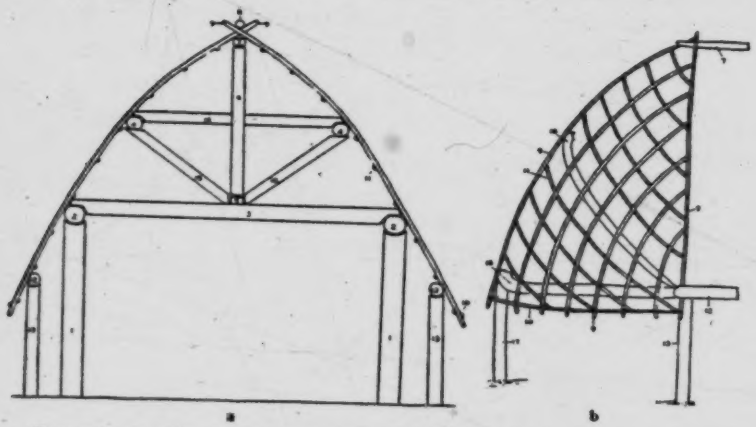

FIGURE 5.—Dwelling house, Tongan type. **a**, middle section, end view: 1, supporting post; 2, tie beam plate; 3, tie beam; 4, roof plate; 5, median plate; 6, king post; 7, main ridgepole; 8, upper ridgepole; 9, rafter; 10, suspended purlin; 11, purlin; 12, straight wall plate; 13, wall post; 14, collar beam; 15, diagonal strut. **b**, end section: 16, curved wall plate; 17, end wall post; 18, curved roof plate.

Middle section. On the first day of the actual house building the main framework of the house (pl. 4, *B*; fig. 5, *a*) is erected as follows: First, the supporting posts (*ndurulelevu*) are sunk. There are usually four of these, but very large houses have six or eight. The supporting posts are logs of greenheart, smoothed and rounded. Holes for the posts are dug by loosening the soil with a digging stick and removing it with a coconut cup (*mbilo*) attached to a stick. Coconut-leaf baskets are used to clear away the soil. The posts are sunk so that one third of the length of the post will be buried when the house mound has been built up and the house is finished. Posts for a medium-sized house are 6 meters long; 2 meters below and 4 above the floor of the house. Next, the two tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) of rounded greenheart beams are lifted up with forked sticks and placed on the supporting posts. The tie beam plates rest in sockets prepared for them. The tie beams (*i thoka*), also rounded greenheart beams, are raised in the same way and placed across the tie beam plates. The tie beams are carefully straightened (*vakandondonu*) and fitted to the tie beam plates. A house with four supporting posts usually has three or four tie beams. Larger houses have six or

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342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 284 552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

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sections (*kumbu*, fig. 5, *b*). First the wood is felled and hauled to the site by the men who agreed to furnish it. Then it is measured, shaped, fitted exactly to the ends of the house, and made smooth. This delicate work is done by the carpenter. The depth of the finished rounded end must equal half the distance between the two wall plates minus one or two spans (25 to 50 cm.). This is determined as follows:

First the distance between the two straight wall plates is measured with a string. The string is doubled and cut in half. One section is shortened by cutting off a length of 1 to 2 spans. The distance between the straight wall plates is measured a second time and, using the measure, two stakes are placed directly below the ends of the wall plates. The point half way between them is determined by the half piece of string and marked by a third stake. The depth and position of the rounded end is then determined by measuring from the third stake to the end of the house with the section of string which was shortened by 1 to 2 spans.

A curved wall plate (*i lolo*), consisting of three arched sections, is then cut into three sections and shaped to measurement. The two end arched sections are called *i turaki* and the middle arched section, *i mboto ni lolo*. The sections are fitted and lashed together with slant joins.

On an appointed day when all is in readiness, the workers meet to set up the rounded end section by the following method:

The curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is raised by means of a rope tied to the middle section (*i mboto ni lolo*) and slung over the end tie beam and temporarily lashed in position. It is joined to the ends of the straight wall plates by lashing. Holes are dug for the end wall posts (*i nduru ni lolo*). They are erected, and the curved wall plate is lowered onto them by loosening the temporary supporting rope. Next the depth of the curved roof plate (*faleano*) is determined by cutting a length of 1 to 2 spans from the string which marked the depth of the curved wall plate. The curved roof plate consists of three or more arches joined, set up, and tied in the same way as the curved wall plate. It is slung half way between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole. The position of the curved roof plate is determined by measuring the distance between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole with a string, halving it, and tying a knot in the middle. The ends of the curved roof plate taper almost to a point and are lashed to the ends of the straight wall plates, above their junction with the curved wall plate. Then the rafters of the rounded end section are set up parallel to each other joining the rafters of the roof of the middle section. They are tied first at the top, then to the curved roof plate, and finally to the curved wall plate. Next the curved purlins and suspended purlin are set up inside the rafters (parallel to the curved roof plate and to each other) and tied to the rafters, the curved roof plate, and the curved wall plate. When both ends have been completed, the wall posts (*nduru*) for the middle section of the house are sunk under the straight wall plates.

Foundation mound. The foundation mound (*yavu*) is built by the men of the village or by the owner. The foundation is oval like the ground plan of the house and extends from 1 to 2 meters beyond the house. Earth for the mound is carried in baskets from an old mound or from a new pit. A wall composed of slabs of beach limestone (*vatu rarapa*) on the limestone islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the

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342 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal
333 adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i ukuukuu*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised
[482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ovuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of
[824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

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and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths.

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there*, is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau*, are fastened to the roof as follows:

A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm.

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vaka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy.

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch.

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●342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554 531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusiri vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

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Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau.

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands.

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits.

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward.

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau.

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house.

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick.

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 as in the *vale vaka Tonga*). Second, a bundle of three or four pliable rods of *ndongo* or *masamasa* is used in place of the curved wall plate; and the curved roof plate and occasionally the curved purlins are absent. Third, the roof of the rounded end is supported by curved parallel purlins and parallel rafters composed of rough laths like those used in kitchen huts today. Fourth, the thatch is of plaited coconut leaves, not of pandanus; and fifth the house is not raised on a mound. There are three doorways, one at the lower end and one on each side of the house.

High rectangular houses

Old informants say that formerly very high, rectangular houses, called *vale vaka ndawandawa*, were found in Lau. The four supporting posts of such a house, belonging to the chief of Fulanga, are still standing on a mound in Muanaithake village. They are about 8 meters high.

Low rectangular houses

Native agree that the houses of olden times were usually small houses with rectangular ground plan, built on a low foundation mound surrounded by a ring of stones. The mound was not much larger than the ground plan of the house.

MEN'S HOUSES

A house, inhabited temporarily or permanently by men only, is called *mbure* or *mbure ni sa*. Usually each clan has a men's house. Any convenient dwelling house is used, but some villages build permanent men's houses. They do not differ in construction from ordinary dwelling houses.

KITCHEN HUTS

343 The kitchen hut (*vale ni kuro*) is small (about 2 by 3 meters) and not so well built as the dwelling house. It is built like the *vale lolova kathukathu* or like a *vale vaka Tonga* and thatched with coconut leaves. Frequently it consists of a thatched gable roof without walls. The hearth occupies one end of the kitchen. Pots, wooden food bowls, strainers, and graters, as well as tapa board and beaters, are kept in the kitchen.

OVEN SHELTERS

The earth oven shelter (*riri* or *vale ni lovo*) is, as a rule, a thatched, gabled roof without walls. The ridgepole and the two wall plates are supported by forked stakes. Any suitable wood is used. Rough laths of *sitchi* tied with vines, such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*, join the ridgepole and the wall plates. The simple framework is thatched with plaited coconut leaves, tied with vines to the rafters. Some earth oven shelters are simple thatched lean-tos.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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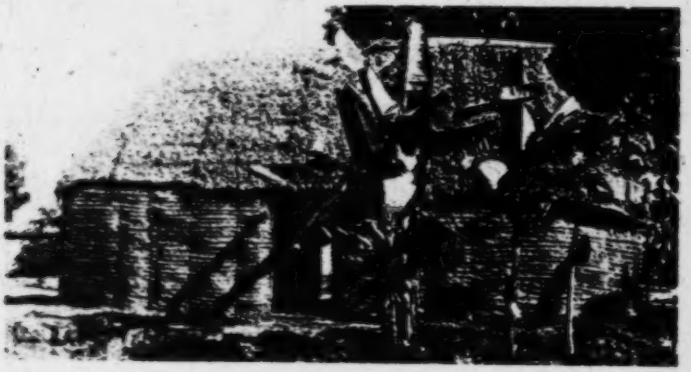

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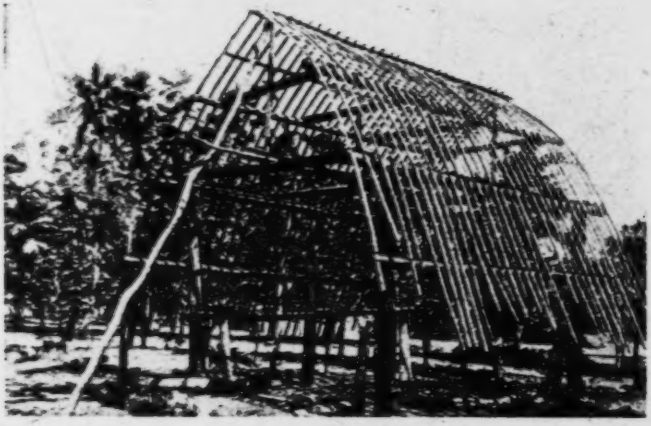

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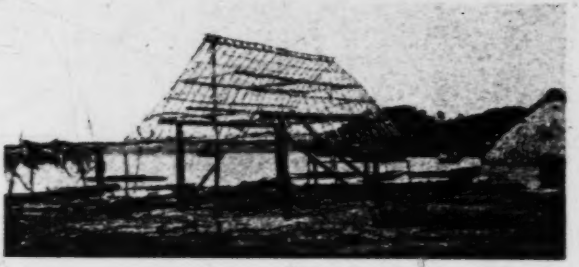

C

A, SMALL DWELLING HOUSE OF TONGAN TYPE, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. B, MIDDLE SECTION OF LARGE DWELLING HOUSE TONGAN TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. C, HOUSE OF THE *VALE LOLOVA KATHUKATHU* TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT NAIVINDAMU, FULANGA (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[Ethno Plate 47]

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28. The village on Vanua Vatu is one of the neatest in Lau.

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29. Volcanic and coral limestone hills near Tarukua village, Thithia.

[p. 102]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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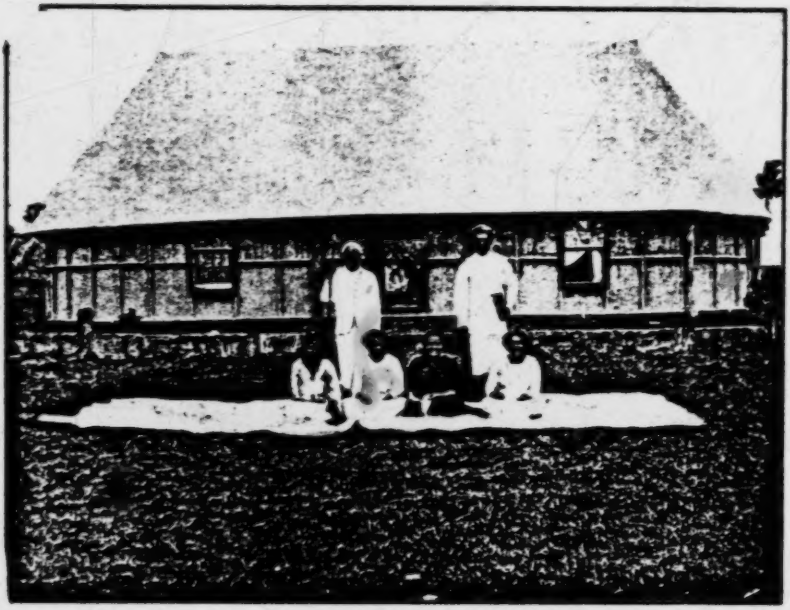

A typical round-ended house of the Lau Islands.

[facing p. 92]